1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy perfumes the very air in which they breathe. 175 342 [352] [351]

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words: 175 361

We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and, yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. 311 [643] [491] [487]

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua (the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga. 175 361

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms. 491

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows: 175

As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains. 175 133 175 311 361

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it. [417] [245] [417] [764]

We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . . [622] [491]

We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled 175 361 797

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

FISHING RIGHTS

The nearest approach to true communal rights lay in fishing grounds. The rights to fishing, whether close to shore or further out, belonged to those living on the adjacent coast. Most chiefs had land fronting on the water where their fishing operations were conducted. Every "commoner" who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront. The inland man without a waterfront on which to fish usually had "*tofia* brothers" (men under the same chief) living on the shore who supplied fish in return for yams, fruit, taro, and other inland products.

Sometimes an inland man poached at his own risk on another's waterfront. If apprehended, his traps might be destroyed and his fish confiscated. Sometimes, if fish were hard for inlanders to obtain, a large party would fish in force and depend upon their allied strength to protect them. But even then, the poaching would take place on the waterfrontage of the poachers' own chief.

If, as sometimes happened, a man fished in a canoe before the lands of a chief other than his own, he would then present his first catch (a large number of fish) to the chief, who might then allow the man to continue fishing for the day. A story is told of an inland man who fished in a canoe before the *tofia* of the first Tungi. When he landed his canoe, Tungi himself confronted him, bit each fish on the back of the neck and said, "These fish are mine."

At variance with these assertions are the statements of Okoa informants that the people of their island might fish anywhere in Vavau, and that claim to a fishing place is established by setting up on the reef a stick with a leaf attached—such a statement probably pertains to modern conditions only. Another example of communism at Okoa, which is probably modern, is the use of a boat of one or two tons burden which belongs to the whole village. The boat may be used by individuals for fishing. If the catch is large it is shared with fellow villagers, and in any event the mayor is given part of the catch.

The stone dam (*pae*) built across a channel outlet to a pool on the reef, to trap the fish seeking the sea on the outgoing tide, was said to be the property of the family group occupying the adjoining tract.

COMMUNAL FENCES, CISTERNS, AND WELLS

Another example of communal effort, at least in modern Tonga, is the fence (*afonua*) which surrounds some villages to prevent the pigs straying into the neighboring plantations and uprooting the plants. Each taxpayer in a village has a certain length of fence to keep in repair.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]

wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka.

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava*, like certain other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave. As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her. Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo* (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's premises.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

765 634 tions of the deceased chief, together with those who formed his household, and also the women who were *tabooed* by having touched his dead body, whilst oiling and preparing it, went to the back of the island (without any particular order or ceremony) to procure a number of flat pebbles, principally white, but a few black, for which they made baskets on the spot to carry them in as before mentioned, when they went to procure sand. With these they returned to the grave, and strewed the inside of the house with the white ones, and also the outside about the *fytoca*, as a decoration to it: the black pebbles they strewed only upon those white ones, which covered the ground directly over the body, to about the length and breadth of a man, in the form of a very eccentric ellipsis. After this, the house over the *fytoca* was [417] closed up at both ends with a reed fencing, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and, at the front and back, with a sort of basket-work, made of the young branches of the cocoa-nut tree, split and interwoven in a very curious and ornamental way, to remain till the next burial, when they are to be taken down, and, after the conclusion of the ceremony, new ones are to be [514] put up in like manner. A large quantity of [276] provisions was now sent to the *malái* by the chiefs of the different districts of the island,

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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work. So of a man who seems to be on the job but is in reality putting very little real work into it.

It is also explained as referring to two or more people going through the bush together, walking in single file as the Tongans invariably do, when the front man, grasping a branch and holding it out of his own way, lets it fly back in the face of the man following. This is the explanation given by Baker, but although he had opportunities of getting correct elucidations denied to the present day investigator, yet the other application of the expression has much to recommend it.

119. Taki taha tali hono vaha-ngatae: Each one accept his duty; each one do his duty.

The word *vaha-ngatae*, translated "duty", is commonly and probably correctly explained as meaning literally "between the *ngatae*". The *ngatae* was used as fencing posts or for marking lengths of the fences in the compounds of high chiefs. When the people were mustered to build the fence they were assigned to do so many spans between the *ngatae*, and thus the distance between the *ngatae* came to be used in the sense of one's share of a task, duty.

120. Ojiki a velenga: Finished desire.

The division of this phrase into its component words, and the literal translation, are conjectural, but the sense in which the expression is employed is that of doing to the utmost of one's power.

121. Ta fakalanga ta: Stroke arousing stroke.

When workmen are weary and are resting they will be stirred to recommence their labor if one of their number gets up and starts working again. Used also of a remark which arouses antagonism, and begets strife and argument.

122. Tuai kae ngai: Slow but moving on gradually.

Has its obvious meaning of that which cannot make any great pace, but nevertheless keeps advancing.

Another form, apparently modern, is *Tuai kae ngai'i*, which means slow but creaking, that is, creaking on its way: the idea being that of a cart moving sluggishly and creakily. The application is the same as above.

123. Tuu kau oi: Stand I shall grunt, groan.

Used by a weak or aged man to himself as he forces himself to get about some work. Come on old chap, get to it even if it does make you groan.

124. Valevale malohi: Unskilled (but) strong, or a strong unskilled person; an unskilled person who works with a will.

A man who has no special skill but who works with all his might ("does strongly" as the Tongan idiom has it), is more satisfactory than a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

651 turned to the left they were loyal subjects of King George, going to pay their just debts to his Government; if they took the straight road on they were traitors and renegades, who loved filthy lucre better than the honour of their country. I tried to guess from the drivers' faces which way they would turn. "Here," I thought, "is a loyalist." The mild-faced, semi-clerical-looking driver left the reins slack on the horse's neck: the cart creaked

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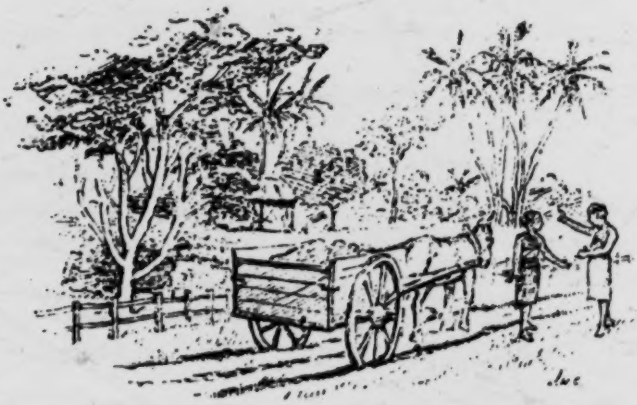

"There was an animated discussion."

onward. For one moment it seemed to pause as if about to turn off, but it was fancy: the horse did not leave the middle rut, and the driver was a traitor in loyalist clothing after all. Clumsily disguised though, for I used then to remember that he had a cunning expression about the mouth, for all his assumed benevolence. Once a long string of carts going towards the traders so exasperated me that I sent a servant to waylay the next comer, and to tell him to take his freight to the Government stores.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open building devoted to the reception of strangers, and to the transaction of all public business. Around this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies a burial-ground, where the remains of two missionaries have been interred, near the tombs of the leading native families.

Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is reached. That which stood there in 1846, measured one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning from thence to the left by a road leading towards Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached. These consisted, at the time specified, of a large printing-office, containing three presses with all their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that building lay the dwellings required for three Mission families. These were erected upon separate *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the entire frontage to the road.

After the bustle of landing our stores was over, the active duties of Mission life immediately commenced. Among these, the acquirement of the language was felt to be the thing of greatest importance. We had not been idle in this matter since reaching the islands: but still, in the prevailing religious excitement, and the consequent increase of labour devolving upon our senior colleague, Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence. We longed to take an active part in the religious

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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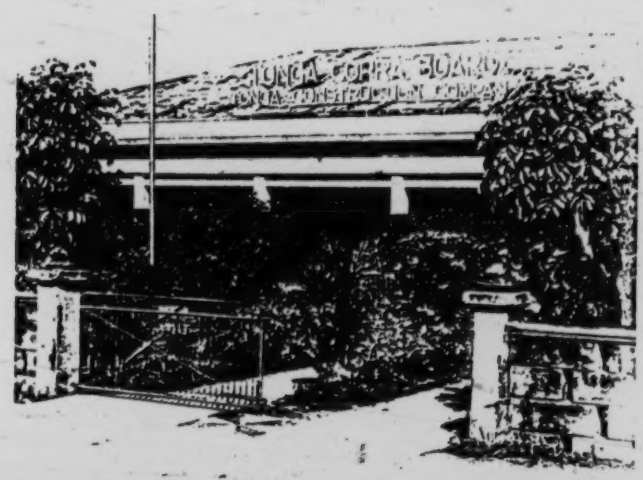

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[caption is on p. 76]

[p. 77]

of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted. 512 [287] [526] [533] [794] [574]

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains. 351 417 351 361 [554] [487]

TUPOU L. PULU

This caused the loss of lives and every possession, including the boat. Only one person escaped to tell of the fate that had befallen them.

The present pronunciation of number 2 above is /te'ekiu/. We have, again, added the glottal stop which Gifford left out. This is listed by Gifford as having two morphemes: /te'e + kiu/ "excrement + plover." Actually, this originally consisted of two morphemes, too, but cut this way: /te'eki + uu/.[5] The first morpheme, /te'eki/ means "not yet," and /uu/ means "sheltered." This was the way it was meant to be, for it originated with the warriors of Vaha'i when they were digging trenches to hide in during the civil war with Hahake district of Tongatapu during the closing years of the eighteenth century. The commander used to call out to the men, /kuo uu/ "are you sheltered," and the answer kept coming back, /te'eki uu/ "not sheltered yet."

There is a way to find a solution to Gifford's remark that sometimes "a name is open to more than one interpretation." This involves the reviewing of oral traditions as presented and preserved in legends, myths, tales, and poems set to music for dancing. It would seem only logical that one would be forced to retain the interpretation of a name which is well supported by evidence from oral traditions and reject that which seems to have been forced, and really has no leg to stand on.

With this in mind, let us look at some of the following names and their meanings, first, as listed by Gifford, and second, by reviewing their histories.

The following names were associated with the birth of Taufa'ahau, Tonga's well-known King George Tupou I, originally known as Nginingini Ofo-langa:[6]

Luahoko. "Sunken reef next another (lua, sunken reef; hoko, next, nearest in place)."[7]

Luangahu. "Reef of the ngahu tree (lua, sunken reef; ngahu, a tree)."[8]

Niuui. "A kind of coconut (niu, coconut; ui, the name of a one kind of coconut)."[9]

Ofolanga. "Erected wonder (ofo, wonder, marvel; langa, to erect)."[10]

The following story is the historical background for the above names as connected with their location at Ha'apai.

Tupouto'a of Ha'apai heard that Houma Fale Ono, the daughter of the chief of Houma in Tongatapu, had been sent by her father to reside with Lavaka at Kahoua.[11] She had been acting strangely and wanted to drink human blood. Tupouto'a, however, knew that she was not possessed by evil spirits as her relatives had assumed, but was simply suffering from morning sickness, for he had been living with her during the last few months when he was in Tongatapu. So he came over to Kahoua and stole her away.

They spent the next few months cruising around the islands of Ha'apai. It is said that when they landed on the beach of one of the many little islands off the shore of Lifuka, Houma Fale Ono vomited violently because of the smell of the

5. The /u/ was long and it is written here as a double vowel.
6. Uate Mahe of Hihifo told the story of how Taufa'ahau received that name from the priest of Ha'elefeke. Apparently, the priest gave him that name after he cured him from drowning in the whale oil of the ill-fated "Port Au Prince" which the people of Ha'apai massacred. The priest took on the name of Taufa Tahi.
7. Gifford 1923:142.
8. Ibid.:143.
9. Ibid.:177.
10. Ibid.:183.
11. This place name is not listed by Gifford even though it is currently in use. It means "two reeds" and it refers to the double fence around Lavaka's residence which was made of this variety of bamboo.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

WEDNESDAY 21*st*. The next morning I took a walk into the island, which I found to be finely laid out into Plantations that were extreemly well Cultivated and planted with such roots and fruits as are common to the island, and I made some addition by sowing the seeds of Indian Corn, Millons Pumpkins &c[a]. All the Plantations were finced round and publick roads lay between them. When I went on board to dinner I found a large sailing Canoe fast to the Ships stern; in this Canoe was *Latouliboula* who, we understood, was King of Tongatabu when I visited the island last Voyage.[1] He sat in the Canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that time, nor could I by any means prevail upon [him] to come into the Ship. The people called him *Arekee* which signifies King,[2] a title I had never heard one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he was not the King. Latouliboula remained under the stern till the evening when he retired to one of the isles. Feenough was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other.

THURSDAY 22*nd*. Nothing material happened the next day, excepting some of the Indians stealing a Tarpauling and some other things from of the deck, they were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but a little too late, I applied to Feenough to have the things returned, he refered me to Earoupa and he put me of from time to time and at last nothing was done.[3] In the morning of the 23[rd] as we were going to 23[rd]

evening with a dance, by some of their dancing Women, who are early trained to it, for the entertainment of the great.—The principal Women who have at all times an Air of consequence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them; the dancers were upon this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, which consists of a large piece of their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the plantin tree, dyed of different colours, round their waist, their hair is adorned w[th] a variety of flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons just springing out of a cask; in these dances the Women have a variety of figures, all which they perform well, but with great labour to themselves: the custom of going with the upper part of their bodies naked is thought no way indecent, as the frequent view of the persons so expos'd rather checks than incites every loose appetite, to us the appearance of those women who had bore many children was rather disgusting; but our ideas of disgust were soon changed into that of admiration when We beheld the most beautiful forms that imagination can conceive in the younger part of the Sex.'—Williamson.

[1] Latunipulu, the male *Tamaha*, the man of 'sullen and stupid gravity' whom Cook met in October 1773 at Tongatapu.—II, pp. 256–8:—'a chief whose odd and wild manners attracted our attention', says King. He would not trust himself in the ship, but 'he was very eager for our curiosities, & if trust'd into his hands woud not return them, his attendants however settled the prices.'—King, 22 May.

[2] '*Eiti*, a chief, a lord; or head of a family. The Maori *ariki* (a first-born in a family of note) may have been in Cook's mind. Other journals render the word as 'agee' or 'egee'.

[3] Both sides suffered. 'Punish'd Chris[r] Kervin with 12 lashes for losing his ramrod (which I believe the Indians stole) during the Time he was Centinel, purposely to prevent their committing any theftu.' Next day Thomas Stretcher got 6 'for suffering the Indians to steal his Boathook'.—Clerke, 21, 22 May. Next day again 'Punished one of the Indian chiefs with 15 Lashes for Theft. Had we made an Example of every one of these people that deserved it, Punishments wou[d] have been Endless, for their Skill in Pilfering is almost past

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

which on most occasions was our interpreter had either been misinformed or what was more likely had missunderstood them for in this affair we had been labouring under some gross misstakes, this Marriwaggy, tho a great man yet was by no means superior to Fattafee Polaho. I was now very sorry I did not make a longer stay at the place we went to; it was a Villige most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the great men in the island resided, each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses and offices for servants &c[a]. These plantations were all neatly finced round, with for the most part only one entrance which was by a door that was generally fastened on the inside by a shore or prop of wood, so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Publick roads and narrow lanes lay between every plantation, so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these plantations were laid out in grass plats, and planted with such things as seemed more for Ornament than use; but hardly any were without the Cava plant on which they make their favourate drink, and some were planted with every thing the island produceth, but I observed these were not the residence of people of the first rank. There were some large house[s] near the publick roads uninclosed with large smooth grass plats before them; these I was told belonged to the King, they seemed to be common to every one and were probably the places where they have their publick assembl[i]es. On our first landing we were conducted to one of these houses where we seated our selves according to the Custom of the Country and in a short time had a very numerous assembly who very orderly seated themselves in a simicircle before us, not one attempting to come near us unless desired.

FRIDAY 13*th*. About Noon the next day this Mariwaggy we had heard so much of actually came, and with him a very considerable number of people of all ranks. In the after noon a party of us accompaned by Feenough went to pay him a visit; we found him amongst a great number of peop[l]e of both sex Seated round a large piece of Cloth, not less than 40 yards in length, spread out on the ground. At the upper end sat an elderly Chief named Toobough, which for distinction sake I shall call old Toobough,[1] him, from the place he was seated, we took to be Marriwaggy till undeceived by Feenough, who interduced us to him seated on one side; he received us very kindly and desired us to sit down by him; he and also Toobough had a very venerable appearence, both being grey with age. The meeting with

[1] I.e. a different Tupou again, and a more important one: see p. 129, n. 1 below.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance, amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood; all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees, which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.[1] On further enquiry, found that one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time. At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21*st*. Early the next Morning the King came on board to invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment[2] in order to reden his hair which was naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, fixing in an upright and square position $\begin{pmatrix} \circ & \circ \\ \circ & \circ \end{pmatrix}$ four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized[3] sticks a cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing, they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

[1] *Taboo made.*

[2] Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

[3] A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

have imployed them as many days as it did these people hours: but seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most helpless on land. But to proceed, after they had compleated these two piles, they made several other heaps of yams & bread fruit on each side the Area, to which were added a Turtle and a large quantity of excellent fish. All this was the Kings present to me and rather exceeded that which I had from Feenough at Happi. In the afternoon we had two or three of the [1] dances, after them a man with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious agility. The evening as usual, was spent in dancing and singing in which the King joined dressed in English manufactury. In order to be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with us, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she steped up to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He immidiately diped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only person we ever saw him reverence.[2] At the Kings desire I ordered some fire works to be played off, they afforded little entertainment, being some of those on board the Discovery and intirely spoiled. As no more entertainments were to be expected on either side and the Curiosity of the populace pretty well satisfied, the next day the most of them left us. We still however had thieves about us, incouraged by the negligence of our own people, they were continualy commiting some theft or a nother.

Some of the officers belonging to both Ships who had traveled into the island unknown to me or indeed any body else and had been absent two days returned this evening. They took with them their Muskets with the necessary ammunition and several small articles all of which the Natives found means to get from them in the Course of their expedition. This affair was like to be attended with some inconveniency, for on their return they got Omai to complain to the

[1] Cook has left a space here, evidently to supply with the name (presumably native) of the dance. We learn from Anderson that the first of three dances this afternoon was the paddle dance, *me'e-ta'upaki*, already seen, followed by one by women and another by two men, which was a *kailao* or dance with war-clubs.

[2] This woman, the female *Tamaha*, or 'sacred child', was the most sacred being in all Tonga. She was the eldest child of the marriage between the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*, the female Tu'i Tonga, herself extremely sacred, and one of the chiefs Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Ha'a Teiho, of the 'Fijian house' or *fale Fiti*. As Cook noticed, the sacred Tu'i Tonga paid the same ceremony of obeisance to her as all others did to him. Her position was such that she could have no recognised descendants. The name of this particular exalted personage was Moungalakepa; she was the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala III and Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Latunipulu was her brother.

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tops of the Mounts round the houses, there were a few rude Images of the human figure, of different ages. We were told they were there as monuments to the Memory of the dead and not the representation of any Deity.[1] Such monuments they seldom raise for these seemed to be very old. In one of the house[s] was the Carved head of an Otaheite Canoe which had been driven a shore on their coast and deposited here. After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed our selves on what we carried with us, some of us took a Walk into the Country making a pretty large circuit attended by one of the Kings Ministers,[2] our train was not great as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us, he also obliged all those whom we met to sit down till we pass'd a respect due only to their Kings. We found by far the greatest part of the Country cultivated and planted with one kind of production or a nother and the most of these plantations were fenced round. Some old Plantations lay uncultivated or in fallow, and there were places that had never been touched but lay in a state of Nature but even these places were usefull in affording them timber &c[a] with which they were generally covered. We met with several large uninhabited house[s] which we were told belonged to the King or the Lord of the Manor;[3] there were many publick and well beaten roads and as many foot paths leading to every part of the island. The roads were good and the Country level consequently traveling was easy. On the most elevated parts, we met with coral rock close to the surface, perforated and cut into all those inequalities we see them in the wash of the sea, yet these very rocks with hardly any soil upon them were covered with a luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools and some springs of Water, but the most of them were either stinking or brackish tho recommended as excellent.[4] The

[1] These three mounts seem to have been the great *langi*, called Tuoteau, Katoa and Tuofefafa, with a smaller fourth one in front, unnoticed by Cook, called Tuatonga. Cook does not mention stone-work, apart from the wall, so the stone of the *langi* may have been heaped over with earth. These lay to the north of the eastern side of the great *mala'e*, and in front of them was a smaller *mala'e*. Within them were the stone vaults or burial chambers. The houses, *fakatolia*, were set up to protect the central part of the covering of fine black volcanic pebbles, called *hilitili*, which marked a vault. The information about the 'rude Images' being 'monuments' or commemorative figures was probably correctly gathered: cf. II, p. 251. The Tongans did not carve representations of their gods.

[2] No doubt a *matapule*, one of the non-chiefly but important officials on whom administration so much depended, attendant on a chief and sometimes his spokesman.

[3] By 'Lord of the Manor' Cook presumably means an '*eiki*, a great chief or 'noble', whose power, under that of the Tu'i Tonga, was territorial, as well as extending to the persons of the common people.

[4] Williamson, 20 June, provides a dissenting opinion: '. . . I have great reason to think that fresh water might be had by sinking a well at some distance from the lagoon, & am the more confirmed in this opinion from the many wells of delightful water, which we met with during our perigrinations, some not less than thirty feet deep, & made extremely neat & clean.'

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is of a steep rugged coral rock nine or ten feet high, except the two 133
sandy beaches already mentioned, which have a reef of rock extended
from across their entrance to the shore and defends them from the
sea. They make excellent harbours for boats but it is difficult to get
in at low water, though at that time it is easy landing on the rocky
shore without if the weather is moderate. On the SE side which the [132]
Master examin'd is a fine sandy beach with good anchoring &
landing, but it is expos'd to the ESE wind which blows almost
constantly and sometimes pretty fresh, from whence it can scarcely
be preferable to our anchoring place, the best part of which seems just
to the W^ward of the largest sandy beach, as appear'd from the
Discovery lying foul by being a little the other way. In the centre of
the isle is a large Salt lake about a mile & a half across, round which
the land rises like a bank with a gradual ascent; but we could not see
any communication it has with the sea, though from the low land
that runs across to it from the largest sandy Beach and the sandy soil
it would appear it may have once communicated that way. There is
another lake or pond, but much smaller, a little way from the shore
on the left hand of the sandy beach from which we took our water,
and though brackish may if taken up after rain (a great deal of which
luckily happened just before our arrival) answer the purposes of a
ship sufficiently. The soil on the rising parts of the island & especially [134]
towards the sea is of a reddish clayey disposition or a black loose 312
mould, but there is no other water than the pool already mentioned,
except in some small holes dug by the natives near the last which
afford much better water than the pool itself.

It[A] is very well cultivated except in a few places, and there are some 241
others which appear to lye waste but are only left to recover the
strength exhausted by constant culture, for we have seen them
frequently breaking in these spots to plant again. The plantations 245
consist chiefly of Yams and plantanes, many of which are very 417
extensive and often inclos'd with neat fences of reed dispos'd ob- 244
liquely across each other about six feet high. Within these are
frequently seen other fences of less compass which surround the
houses of the principal people, but for the most part these are found

can compare high land, and shall therefore say that it is the next in degree whether with respect to the whole body of land being high or its being interspers'd with high hills. Very high or mountainous land cannot be easily comprehended in a single definition, but may be understood by its always exceeding the other & adding some particular description of its height.

It should be observd that the criterion of low land mention'd above can hardly be applied to Annamooka and some of the isles about it, but I have considerd them as low merely to avoid confusion, as they cannot be admitted to the rank of those of a moderate height which we have yet seen, as Wateeoo & Mang'ya.

A [of Nomuka--Analyst]

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in the open plantane fields. The bread fruit and Cocoa nut trees are interspers'd with little order though chiefly near their habitations, and the other parts of the island especially towards the sea and about the sides of the lake are coverd with trees and bushes of a most luxuriant growth, the last place having a great many mangroves & the first a vast number of the Fait'anoo trees already mentioned. There seems to be no rock or stones of any kind about the island that is not coral, except in one place to the right of the sandy beach which is the highest part of it, where there is a rock twenty or thirty feet high of a calcareous stone of a yellowish colour and a very close hard texture, but even about this place are large pieces of the same coral rock that composes the shore.

We liv'd on the most friendly terms with the natives while we remain'd here, and obtain'd a much larger supply of refreshment than could have been expected from so small a place, but it should be consider'd that all the small islands around it furnish'd their Quota, and the strangers that brought their hogs and other things were oblig'd to live in temporary huts which they erected or lay themselves down behind bushes or ferns. Besides walking frequently in the country, which we were permitted to do without any interruption, we sometimes amus'd ourselves in shooting wild ducks not unlike the Widgeon[1] which are very numerous upon the salt lake and the other pool. In these excursions we found the people had often deserted their houses to come down to the trading place without entertaining any suspicion that strangers rambling about would take away or destroy any thing about them, but though in these cases it might be suppos'd a great part of the inhabitants were sometimes collected at the beach it was impossible to form any true computation of their numbers, as the continual resort of strangers from other places mixing with them might easily mislead one. However as there was never to appearance above a thousand seen at one time it would perhaps be sufficient to allow double that number for the whole island.

We steerd about NNW towards Káó and Toofóá in our way to Hapaee,[2] an island which Fee'nou said was of a considerable extent, where we could be supply'd plentifully with every refreshment in the easiest manner. He engag'd to go to this place with us himself and seem'd to have some interest in it, for he express'd a good deal of aversion to the Captains intention of going to Amsterdam which he mention'd to him. Although they made us understand that Hapaee lay rather to the NE of Anna'mooka, we were obligd to take this route because there is a cluster of islands lying between Annamooka &

[1] *Anas superciliosa.* [2] Ha'apai.

A [Nomuka--Analyst]

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SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that it was almost impossible to stir.

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and we found large spots well planted with the Morus papyrifera (paper Mulberry),[1] but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of having no good water that we could see, for though we found several ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made us understand people sate to catch pigeons.[2] At another place was a house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort publickly to;[3] and near the landing place we saw one of their burying grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.[4] Most of the

[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.
[2] Tongan *mala'e*.
[3] One of the mounds called *sialupe*.
[4] A *fa'iloka*.

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the large end against a stone fix'd in the ground for that purpose, and the other being push'd against the door serves as a strong bar, which makes it as necessary to rap here at the door as at a gate in England before you can enter an inclosure. In a great many of them there is a smaller inclosure within, this also often with a door, where the house of the principal person is immediately plac'd, and near it or very often in the outer one houses of an inferior sort for servants and dependents. There are sometimes several little places again within this that have fences and houses, but communicate freely with each other, and in most there is commonly a pretty spot of short grass, though of no regular figure, before them with sweet smelling shrubs call'd Ma'eele[1] and Hooe[2] planted up and down and some other trees that produce beautifull flowers. The outer inclosure has commonly such things as they often want planted in them, as Cocoa nut trees or some plantanes and bread fruit, but no considerable plantations of Plantanes or Yams.

Beyond this a mile or two we generally found the Plantations more extensive but open, and still farther on a great quantity of uncultivated land coverd with grass as high as the Knee. Our guides said if we advanc'd that way we should still find a waste uncultivated country, or as they call it Vää,[3] but they probably did it only to save themselves a little fatigue, for some miles beyond this the land seem'd to rise a little higher and had a great many Cocoa trees, both signs of its being cultivated. It could also be observ'd that even in this place the soil was good, and it is probable many of the spots only lay fallow, for we saw two or three large plantane fields that had lately been broke in from such ground. It is remarkable that when on the highest part, which is at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often found the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface in the paths; and in many places where there were large breaches with a small quantity of stinking water at the bottom, it was always in the solid coral shatterd or seperated as it were by violence.

At one place we fell in with a house where they were manufacturing their cloth, which though extensive in itself is a very simple operation. They take the slender stalks (or trunks) of the papper mulberry plant, which they cultivate for that purpose and seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height or four fingers in thickness, from which they strip the bark and scrape off the outer rind with

[1] Maile, *Alyxia stellata*, a shrub with fragrant long slender stems, abundant small leaves and dark red berries, much used for wreaths.
[2] Hoi, *Dioscorea bulbifera*, one of the yams, with small flowers in spike-like clusters.
[3] vao, land in its natural uncultivated state. Anderson is very accurate.

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241 of the island is in the highest state of cultivation. The large extent of
[311] the Plantane fields was taken notice of already, and the same may be said of the Yams, these two together being at least as ten to one to all
[412] the other articles. In planting both these it does not appear they turn over the ground as we do, but in a field that has lain waste and is coverd with grass they dig small holes for their reception, and afterwards root up the grass with a flat narrow wooden instrument call'd Hōōō,[1] which in this hot country is quickly depriv'd of its vegetating power and soon rotting becomes a good manure. They are planted in rows by a line such as our Gardiners use, in such a manner that which ever way you look the rows present themselves regular and compleat. The Plantanes are usually three paces asunder, the Yams two and the Jeejees one. The first are shoots from the root of the old tree, which when weak they often defend with a sort of basketing laid over them, and the Yam tendrils at first shooting up are frequently
245 supported on short bits of sticks. The Cocoa nuts and bread fruit trees
241 are scatterd about without any order and seem to give them no trouble after they have attaind a certain heighth. The same may be said of another large tree which produces great numbers of a large roundish compress'd nut call'd 'Eēēfee,[2] and a smaller tree that bears a rounded oval nut two inches long with two or three triangular kernels, tough and insipid, call'd Mabba,[3] most frequently planted near their houses. The Kappe is commonly regular[l]y planted and in pretty large spots, but the Ma'whaha is interspers'd amongst other things, as the Jeejee or Yams, the last of which I have frequently seen in the interspaces of the Plantane trees at their common distance.
241 Sugar cane is commonly in small spots crowded closely together, and
248 the Mulberry of which the cloth is made, though without order, has
[249] sufficient room allowd it and is kept very clean. The only other plant they cultivate for their manufactures is the Pandanus which is commonly planted in a row close together at the sides of the other fields, and they consider it is a thing so distinct in this state that they have a different name for it,[4] a proof that they are very sensible of the great changes brought about by cultivation. Whether the same remark may be applied to the Mulberry I am not certain, for it seems doutfull if ever they knew it in any other than its present cultivated one, as it never flowers; at least there was none of the old trees from whence they could propagate it seen, wheras the Pandanus is one of
417 the most common in the country. Their fences should be considerd
351

[1] *kuo*. [2] Ifi, *Inocarpus edulis*. [3] Mapa, *Diospyros lateriflora* or *D. ellipticifolia*.
[4] The Tongan vocabulary at the end of the third volume of the printed *Voyage* gives one of the meanings of 'Keeai' [*kie*] as 'the cultivated Pandanus'.

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here, though they are rather intended as conveniencys to their dwellings than a shelter to the plantations. They are made by passing two reeds together obliquely upwards over two others, and so on in such a manner that they form a pretty lattice work with rhomboidal spaces of about two inches to a side, though there are others made quite close by placing five or six together alternately over and under each other. The uneven tops are left uncut and the foot kept clean by digging up the grass with the Hooo, by which care & frequent repairs they seem to last a long time.

It is not easy to guess why these people who in many things show much taste and ingenuity should fall short in building their houses, not so much in the execution but design. Those of the lower people are poor huts scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable but not what one would expect. The dimensions of a middling one is about thirty feet long, twenty broad and twelve high. It is properly speaking a sort of roof or shade, rounded at the ends, reaching to within two feet and a half (or three at most) of the ground all round, under which they creep in. It is supported by strong posts plac'd commonly at equal distances a little within the edge, with others laid along upon their tops and some laid across from these, which again have perpendicular ones rising from their middle to support the top ridge. These are firmly lash'd together with a cord made of Cocoa nut fibres, in which they indicate their taste for variety by mixing white and black so as always to represent som[e] regular figure. The frame on which the thatching is supported consists of well made laths laid in a very regular manner from top to bottom, with others running across in the same manner without them & fastend with the Cocoa cord. The thatch is chiefly of Cocoa & other leaves laid over these laths in such a way, by being doubled under them & intercepted by the next, that they need little fastening and to a thickness which makes them proof against the rain or wind. Some of the principal people have houses almost twice as large, and the Ma'laees or houses of public resort which are pretty numerous are still larger; but there is a sort commonly smaller than the dwelling houses, almost round and well clos'd on every side with reeds plac'd close together, except a small square hole to creep in at. These serve as store houses to preserve their cloth, matts, yams & other spare things in that their dwelling places may not be incumbered, and are so contriv'd that the reeds composing the sides point outwards, so that it seems to stand upon a narrow base, which with the thatch projecting over a little way effectually prevents any rain getting in. The houses of the

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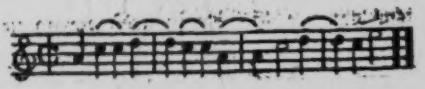
They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

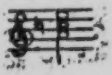
Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

[429 cont.]

175 533 fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who sung the same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus. A very ingenious gentleman, who was on this voyage with us, has favoured me with one of the tunes which he heard in this island, which may serve as a specimen to the musical part of my readers.



In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slow, and sometimes ending with the chord 

175 609 The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the 175 137 liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable [430] time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant 175 609 smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we 262 knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

175 417 351 On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure

a [sic ... Analyst]

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
417 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
175
123 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
175 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
351 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
137
[417] and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
609
[181] Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
[171] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
[171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[440 cont.]

175 by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the
164 place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually
oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out
[439] of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most
miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed
to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly
as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to
sell.

175 After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order
122 to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again
[126] accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh
supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following
account of this excursion.

175 "At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in
439 the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was
carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in
particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently
175 advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with
123 [441]two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in
case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part
175 of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or
311 gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with
477
137 quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (erythrina corallodendron.)
175 Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and
311 observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much
487
[244] order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane
[245] opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having

[448 cont.]
Part of it appeared to have been planted
with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
[449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian tayo. The
enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[452 cont.]

175 764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described, 114 126 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

175 123 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-175 123 609 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently 175 351 184 [352] D23 [417] characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside. In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in 175 133 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe, as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[172 cont.]

609 obliged to return to the shore, very much discontented. Immediately
175 after breakfast, Dr. Sparrman, my father and myself accompanied
489 175 captain Cook to the shore, where a trade commenced for shaddocks and yams, which the natives sold us in prodigious quantities. Bananas and coco-nuts were scarce in proportion, and bread-fruit still more
291 175 rare, though the trees of these sorts were very numerous. All the men went nearly naked, a slight covering on the loins excepted; a few of them, however, and most of the women, were drest from the waist to the ankles, in a piece of stiff painted cloth made of bark, wrapped several times round them, or in mats.

As soon as our boats reached the shore, the clamours of all those
439 175 who had something to sell became so excessively loud, that we hastened
137 into the country, whose aspect was very inviting. A considerable
241 175 variety of plants covered the [173] ground in wild luxuriance; and the great number of plantations of all sorts, made the whole island resemble
489 175 a beautiful garden. The fences which had confined the view at Tonga-Tabboo, were here much less frequent, and only enclosed one side of
[411] the path, leaving the other open to the eye. The ground was not
489 137 perfectly level in the interior parts, but rose in several little
241 175 hillocks lined with hedges and bushes, which formed a most agreeable prospect. The path which we met with, sometimes went under long rows of lofty trees, planted at considerable distances, between which the ground was covered with the richest verdure; sometimes a thick and impenetrable arbour of fragrant shubberies vaulted over it for a considerable space, and hid it entirely from the sun; sometimes
342 175 plantations, and sometimes wilds appeared on both sides. The houses of the natives were of a singular structure; their height was about

[186 cont.]

The island of Namoka, which we left after a stay of two days only, was not above fifteen miles in circuit, but seemed to be remarkably populous. It lies in 20° 17' S. and 174° 32' W. In the group of islands which appeared around it, its size was the most considerable but all seemed to be well inhabited, and very rich in vegetable productions. They are situated on a kind of bank, on which there is from nine to sixty and seventy fathom water, and the soil is probably the same in every island. Namoka consists, like Tonga-Tabboo, of a coral-rock, covered with a rich mould on which all sorts of vegetables thrive. We had no time to examine the hillock in its centre, which seems to have had a different origin, and may perhaps be volcanic. At present it is wholly covered with the richest groves, like the rest of the island. The abundance of fresh water in the pond, is an advantage which the people of Namoka enjoy [187] in preference to those of Tonga-Tabboo; but it does not appear that they bathe so regularly as the Taheitians, perhaps because the stagnant water is not very inviting. Its advantage is however so much felt, that the natives brought it to the ship in calabashes, and did the same to Tasman, which implies that it is looked upon as a valuable article among them. The abundance of water, and the richness of the soil likewise seems to be the reason, that bread-fruit and shaddock trees are much more frequent, and all vegetation infinitely more luxuriant than on Tonga-Tabboo. The fences on that account are not laid out, and kept up with that extreme regularity, though they are still preserved in part. The long walks of fruit-trees, and the delightful green turf under them, were rather to be compared to the richest spots on Ea-oowhe, or Middleburg Island. The tufted arbours which vaulted over the paths, are hung with beautiful

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953). 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

137 Tongatapu: on the shore eastward of Ma'ofanga, Oct. 29, 1951, *Hürlimann 20.*

Tafahi: near Fakafafa nioe Tauloto, on sandy coral soil, Dec. 17, 1951. *Hürlimann 610.*

Occasional. Pantropic.

Tongan name: *vi taha.*

Pisonia grandis R. Brown, Prodr. Fl. Nov. Hollandiae 1: 422, 1810.

Medium to large, soft-wooded tree. Leaves opposite, rather thin, oval-ovate, obtuse to acutish, base acute, up to 20 cm. or more long and 10 cm. wide, petiole up to 5 cm. or more long. Flowers small, fragrant, in terminal, cymose clusters; fruit glandular.

Tongatapu: in forest between village of Niutoua and shore, Mar. 2, 1953. *Yuncker 15127.*

Nomuka: *fide* Burkill's list.

Lifuka: *Harvey.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Occasional. From the Moluccas, Borneo, Australia, Marianas, the Philippines through Polynesia.

P. inermis Forst. in Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *fotulona.*

[824 417] The timber is used for fence posts and in general construction work.

Genus Bougainvillea Commerson

Bougainvillea spectabilis Willdenow, Sp. Pl. 2: 348, 1799.

Scrambling or climbing, armed, woody, vinelike shrub. Young growth finely pubescent. Leaves alternate, entire, elliptical, acute at both ends. Flowers nearly 2.5 cm. long, surrounded by three, large, purplish-red, ovate, veiny bracts.

This introduced ornamental is occasionally planted about dwellings. One or two specimens were noted along roadsides. It is a Brazilian species now pantropic in cultivation.

Tongan name: *felila.*

[247 824] *Mirabilis jalapa* Linnaeus, the common garden four-o'clock, is cultivated as an ornamental garden plant.

Family Phytolaccaceae

Genus Rivina Linnaeus

Rivina humilis Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 121, 1753.

Shrublike herb up to 1 m. tall. Leaves alternate, ovate-lanceolate, acute at both ends, 5-8 cm. long and 2-3 cm. wide, glabrous, bright green, pinnately nerved, petioles 2-3 cm. long. Flowers small, white, pale lavender or greenish, on slender pedicels 2-4 mm. long, in terminal and axillary, cylindrical racemes; fruit red, fleshy, one-seeded.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuafo'ou: thicket just above upper margin of recent lava flow, May 16, 1953. *Yuncker 15989.* 137

Frequent throughout Tonga. New Hebrides eastward to [?] Samoa.

Phyllanthus ramiflorus Muell. Arg. in Hemsley's list and *P. ramiflorus* var. *genuinus* Muell. Arg. in Burkill's list.

Tongan names: *malolo, misikoka.*

The leaves and bark are used in preparing medicines.[1] [278] [824] [113]

For a discussion of the taxonomic status and distribution of *G. concolor* and *G. ramiflorum* see Croizat (Sargentia 1: 47, 1942).

Genus **Bischofia** Blume

Bischofia javanica Blume, Bijdr. Fl. Java, 1168. 1826.

Tree, up to 10 m. or more tall, branchlets and leaves glabrous. Leaves alternate, three-foliate, leaflets ovate-elliptic, acuminate, base acute, up to 15 cm. long and 8 cm. wide, crenate-dentate, terminal leaflet long-stalked, lateral leaflets on petiolules 1-1.5 cm. long. Flowers small, dioecious, numerous, in axillary, panicled racemose clusters; fruit globose, fleshy, up to about 1 cm. in diameter.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* thicket near Hufangalupe, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15042;* near dwellings, Ma'ofanga, Nov. 23, 1951, *Hürlimann 313;* near Nualei, Dec. 26, 1951, *Hürlimann 677.*

'Eua: in forested area near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15313;* in forest along creek above Fuai, alt. 90 m., Nov. 8, 1951, *Hürlimann 164.*

Nomuka: thicket near shore of lake, along road encircling island, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15856.*

Lifuka: in thicket between road and beach, north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15715.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* in thicket along road between Houma village and sea, May 22, 1953, *Yuncker 16122.*

Common throughout Tonga. India, China, and Malaysia to Polynesia.

[?] Including *B. leptopoda* Muell. Arg. *sensu* Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *koka.*

The bark furnishes a dye used in coloring tapa; the stems are used for posts and so forth. [386] [313] [417] [824]

Genus **Claoxylon** Jussieu

Claoxylon parvicoccum Croizat, Sargentia 1: 49, 1942.

Tree up to 8 m. or more tall, the branchlets and leaves glabrous. Leaves alternate, elliptic-ovate, acuminate, the base acute to long-cuneate, 12-15 cm. or more long and 5-8 cm. wide, sharply crenately toothed, pinnately nerved, the petiole up to 8 cm. or more long. Flowers unisexual, in slender, spicate clusters.

[1] /Glochidion ramiflorum -- Analyst/

241 stay overnight at the bush allotment.

241 Wells were found on 6 allotments and a cement rain -
312 catchment tank was present on another. On 4 of these, there were permanent dwellings and on 3, garden vegetables were grown.

241 There were 11 allotments with copra driers; 7 of these
245 had permanent dwellings and two had substantial temporary dwellings.

241 Good condition barbed-wire fencing was found around
417 parts of 10 allotments, poor condition fencing around 2, and another 24 had some fencing along one side or across
241 the central portion of the allotment. In almost all cases, fences were used to protect crops from livestock, particu-
241 larly horses. Although treated wood fenceposts are becoming
417 increasingly common, living fence posts such as ngatae
245 (Erythrina variegata) and fiki (Jatropha curcas) are more common.

241 As for accessibility, 89 allotments had some kind of
491 roads bordering or through the property; of these, only 29 had paved coral or black-top roads. In about half of the cases where allotments had unpaved roads, these were often impassable, except by horsecarts. There is a continuing effort to improve accessibility by expanding the paved feeder-road system.

241 There were 10 allotments with pigs; in 7 cases, they
231 were either tethered or roaming free. On all but one of

351 Selected Agricultural Practices and Conditions

342 All allotments had at least one main sleeping house or fale mohe (Table 43).

351 Table 43. Frequency occurrence of specified housetypes on
342 192 town allotments (113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in rural
villages) (The numbers in parentheses indicate the number
369 of allotments with more than one of a given housetype).

Housetype	Nuku'alofa Number of Occurrences	Rural Number of Occurrences
Large Wooden	64 (3)	27
Large Brick	11	8
Small Wooden	19 (1)	5
Thatch	56 (3)	42
TOTAL	150 (7)	82

The rural areas have a lower percentage of large
[343] wooden houses than the Nuku'alofa area. The frequency of occurrence of other structures such as separate kitchens (peito), outhouses (fale vao) and wash houses (fale kaukau) reflected no significant differences between the rural and urban areas.

351 A large number of allotments, particularly in
245 Nuku'alofa, were fenced with either barbed wire or living
[417] fences (Table 44). Cordyline terminalis (si) generally

351
245 serves as a border rather than a true hedge or fence. The hedges and fences are useful for ornamental purposes, to delineate property lines, and to protect gardens from livestock damage.

351 Table 44. Frequency occurrence of specific fence types on
245 192 town allotments (113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in rural
villages).
417
369

Fencetype	Nuku'alofa Occurrences	Rural Occurrences
Hibiscus spp.	45	18
Nothopanax spp.	45	11
Barbed Wire	34	19
Cordyline terminalis	26	4
Acalypha spp.	14	1
Erythrina variegata	9	0
Thunbergia erecta	8	4
Jatropha curcas	7	0
Wood	0	1

312 One major difference between the Nuku'alofa and
369 rural town allotments is the greater availability of water in Nuku'alofa (Table 45). In the rural villages, although some wells and rainfall catchment systems exist, there were no private water systems and most people depended

241 Fencing, generally to protect crops such as paper
417 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from destruction by livestock, was found on a number of bush allotments. On 10 percent of the sample allotments good condition barbed wire fencing was used around at least some portions of the
[245] land. On others, poor quality fencing or live fences and hedges were found; Erythrina variegata and Jatropha curcas were commonly used.

241 Permanent residences were found on 13 percent of the
361 sample bush allotments. These allotments were generally
[231] more intensively cultivated and fruit trees, useful plant species, and livestock were comparatively numerous. Temporary thatched houses were found on many bush allotments; these are generally used in guarding valuable crops.

241 In some cases, livestock, primarily horses and cows,
231 were tethered or allowed to graze on bush allotments. Most
[262] livestock, especially pigs, chickens, ducks, goats, and dogs (which are commonly eaten) were generally kept on town allotments. In almost all cases where these animals were found on bush allotments, the farmer's permanent residence was situated there also.

241 In short, the agricultural system, as practiced on
178 bush allotments, seems to have retained much of its tradi-
[137] tional character. The types of crops and protected plants, intercropping practices, and plant successions have undergone few major changes. Some changes which have taken

241 range of subsistence products.

241 The average town allotment generally has at least one
351 main dwelling or sleeping house (fale mohe) plus a number
[342] of other structures, such as separate kitchens (peito),
[343] wash houses (fale kaukau), outhouses (fale vao), and in
some cases pig sties. On a majority of the town allotments
[369] in Nuku'alofa, and to a lesser extent in the rural villages,
fences were found around the entire allotment or around
[417] portions used for keeping livestock. Fences for livestock
[245] were usually of barbed wire. Those which were more orna-
mental or used to delineate property boundaries were often
living fences or hedges, most commonly of Hibiscus spp.
241 and Nothopanax spp. Wells, rainfall catchment systems, and
312 private water pipes were common on town allotments in
369 Nuku'alofa. In the rural areas, water was generally
obtained from centrally located village water pipes.

241 Within this setting, a great variety of livestock,
231 staple crops, and other valuable plants and trees were
found. Almost all allotments had some livestock; over
half had chickens, dogs, and pigs, while horses, cats, ducks,
241 goats, and cattle were found on several. In Nuku'alofa, the
231 law prohibits pigs and other animals except poultry roaming
369 free. On rural town allotments, however, over half of those
sampled had loose pigs. These constituta a major deterrent
241 to the cultivation of certain crops. Staple crops were
369 cultivated in limited acreages on about half of all town

/152 cont./

241 46 [512] [517] are capable of working intensively four to five hours at a stretch, but do not always do this consistently. While the majority visit their plantations several days a week and the rest of the time devote themselves to other occupations (for example, fishing, copra-production), there are in every village some natives who visit their small, half wild plantation at most once a week and spend the remaining days chatting in various houses of the village. Still another "minority," on the other hand. have the ambition to lay out truly "model plantations"; they devote almost allavailable time to their very neat and precisely laid out plantation, spend the night there in a specially erected hut for days, weeks or months, or move there altogether with their families. The Tongans work on their plantations [476] by themselves or, especially in case of larger projects, (403)

403. For example, clearing to lay out a yam field.

in groups (a one-time arrangement or a regular kautaha. (404)

404. See p. 137.

241 46 198 [417] Although nowadays the Tongans, in their opinion, give a considerable amount of work and time to their plantations, most of these appear less cared for than in old times. The "neat fences of reed" (405)

405. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 178, 222.

which in former times enclosed the plantations have long since disappeared and have been partly replaced by single, rusty barbed wires. 241 178 461 Within the plantations themselves one often misses the ancient Tongan love of order; some of the /153/ plots, with the exception of a few "model plantations," seem disorderly, and tall weeds proliferate. The reason for this is, of course, that today the Tongan generally does not live on his plantation and, because of the sometimes rather long

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses. The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt. Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school. The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; these were principally young women and girls—and like those we had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed, until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows, the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-